

and Russia's treaties with other nations. The memorandum ended with an expression of confidence in the final victory of the Allies and a peace "with all necessary sanctions and guarantees."

The majority of the Executive Committee felt that Miliukov's note was a fatal blow to its policy of co-operation with the government and to national defense. It was impossible to call on soldiers to defend old treaties signed by the Tsar! Moreover, Miliukov's contention that the government's declaration had changed nothing in Russia's foreign policy was contrary to the assurances the government had given the Executive Committee. The left wing of the Executive Committee demanded an immediate break with the government, and this demand found some supporters in the ranks of the moderates.

Long after midnight the session of the Executive Committee was adjourned. I spent the rest of the night on a sofa in the Tauride Palace. Early in the morning the session resumed. The leftist members felt that they had an excellent opportunity to kill the policy of co-operation with the government. The moderates were losing ground. At this point we learned that a solution of the crisis had slipped from our hands. Workers and soldiers were gathering in the streets to protest the "provocation" of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Telephone calls began to pour into the Palace. Work had stopped in many mills. The workers planned to go in force to the Marinsky Palace, the seat of the Provisional Government, and demand Miliukov's resignation. Unrest also developed in the barracks; the soldiers were arming themselves. . . .

With two other members of the Committee, I was asked to take measures to keep the soldiers in the barracks and the workers in the factory districts. We rounded up members of the Soviet and the delegates from the provinces and the front who were in Petrograd and assembled all the cars at the disposal of the Soviet. Then some ten of us sat at a battery of telephones, calling mills and barracks. "The Executive Committee is in session. It has not called for street demonstrations. Any offhand action will be contrary to its wishes." Our men rushed in all directions hammering the message: "Keep quiet! Wait!" Perhaps we were overcautious, but we feared that the first regiment that appeared in front of the Marinsky Palace with a demand for Miliukov's resignation might force its way into the building and destroy the precarious balance of power in Petrograd and in Russia.

Our efforts were only partially successful. We did keep workers in the southern factory precincts from marching to the center of the city, but the S-D leaders in the northern districts refused to obey. News from the Viborg district seemed particularly alarming. Crowds of workers were merging, and armed groups were appearing at the head of the procession moving toward the center of the city. When we got